

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 OMB-01 NEA-10 SAJ-01 NIC-01 IO-14 AID-20

IGA-02 ACDA-19 EB-11 COME-00 INT-08 FEA-02 SCI-06

DLOS-07 ARA-16 AF-10 SAM-01 /229 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/GRK:GTCHURCHILL

APPROVED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN

EUR - MR. STABLER

EUR - MR. LOWENSTEIN

EUR/TUR - MR. DILLON (INFO)

EUR/CYP - MR. BOYATT (INFO)

----- 082736

R 262235Z APR 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 086171

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR; GR, TK, CY

SUBJECT: GREEK AMBASSADOR CALLS ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HARTMAN

1. AMBASSADOR PANAYOTACOS MADE A COURTESY CALL ON
ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN, APRIL 25. ALSO PRESENT
WERE DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARYS STABLER AND LOWENSTEIN
AND GREEK COUNTRY DIRECTOR CHURCHILL.

2. AFTER THE INITIAL EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES, PANAYOTACOS
APPLAUDED SECRETARY'S POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE
AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. GREECE, HE SAID, IS IN
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DELICATE SITUATION AND ANY OUTSIDE PRESSURE WOULD BE

COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. PANAYOTACOS REITERATED HIS THEME THAT THE OLD POLITICIANS DESTROYED THE "MARKEZINIS EXPERIMENT" BY THEIR FAILURE TO COOPERATE, AND THUS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION.

2. PANAYOTACOS FELT IT WAS TOO SOON TO SAY WHERE THE GREEK SITUATION WAS HEADING. THE REGIME HAS ANNOUNCED THAT ITS AIM IS DEMOCRATIC RULE, BUT ONLY AFTER PREREQUISITES ARE ESTABLISHED. GREECE DOES NOT WANT A REPETITION OF LAST YEAR'S EVENTS, WHEN THE COMMUNISTS INFILTRATED THE UNIVERSITIES, RESULTING IN BLOODY INCIDENTS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1967. THE SITUATION MUST BE

HANDLED WITH CARE. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY "FRIENDLY ADMONITION", PANAYOTACOS SAID, NOT BY UNFRIENDLY PRESSURE. "YOU MUST AVOID HURTING THEM IN THEIR NATIONAL PRIDE." PANAYOTACOS DESCRIBED THE REGIME LEADERS AS OFFICERS WHO TOOK PART IN WW II AND LOST FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR. "THEY KNOW THE DANGERS THAT THREATEN GREECE -- THEY ARE BITTER " THESE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO PANAYOTACOS ARE FUNDAMENTALLY PRO-WESTERN AND PRO-U.S., BUT NATIONALISTIC. "YOU KNOW WITH WHAT CARE NATIONALISTIC PEOPLE MUST BE HANDLED." IF THERE ARE "QADHAFIITE" OFFICERS, THEY ARE TOO FEW TO BE OF IMPORTANCE.

3. MR. HARTMAN ASKED HOW PANAYOTACOS WOULD DEFINE "FRIENDLY ADMONITION", AND WONDERED IN WHAT WAYS WE MIGHT CONVEY OUR VIEWS TO THE GREEK REGIME WITHOUT GIVING OFFENSE. PANAYOTACOS FELT THIS COULD BE DONE PRIVATELY THROUGH HIMSELF OR THROUGH AMBASSADOR TASCA, WHO WAS DOING A FINE JOB IN ATHENS. "BUT NOT THROUGH CONGRESS " PANAYOTACOS SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS DISAPPOINTED TO SEE BILLS IN CONGRESS TO CUT OFF AID IF GREECE FAILS TO LIVE UP TO THE NATO PREAMBLE. PORTUGAL WAS ALREADY IN NATO BEFORE GREECE ENTERED; "IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PREAMBLE IS ONLY AN ACADEMIC, PLATONIC STATEMENT."

4. MR. HARTMAN POINTED OUT THAT THE NATO PREAMBLE DOES REPRESENT PRINCIPLES TO WHICH ALL OF THE MEMBER

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COUNTRIES SUBSCRIBE. HE WAS SURE PANAYOTACOS, WITH HIS LONG EXPERIENCE IN THE U.S., WAS AWARE THAT FEELINGS IN THE CONGRESS DO REPRESENT OPINIONS IN THE COUNTRY. THE ADMINISTRATION MAY NOT ALWAYS AGREE WITH THESE OPINIONS, BUT CANNOT NEGLECT TO TAKE THEM INTO ACCOUNT. HE TRUSTED THAT PANAYOTACOS WAS REPORTING THESE OPINIONS TO ATHENS. MR. HARTMAN SAID HE HOPED WE CAN CONTINUE TO COMMUNICATE OUR CONCERNS TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AS

WE HAVE DONE IN THE PAST. HE WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN AN OPEN RELATIONSHIP THAT ALLOWS A FRANK DISCUSSION OF VIEWS, BUT WITHOUT PUBLIC PRESSURE. WE ARE LOOKING CLOSELY AT THESE MATTERS, BEARING VERY MUCH IN MIND THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN CONGRESS.

5. PANAYOTACOS MENTIONED SPECIFIC ISSUES, WHICH HE FELT WERE CREATING "SMALL FRICTIONS" IN THE U.S. - GREEK RELATIONSHIP, I.E., MILITARY SURPLUS EQUIPMENT, FMS CREDITS, AND HOMEPORTING. HE FELT THESE COULD BE RESOLVED WITH GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES. THE GREEK CITIZEN, HE SAID, READS IN THE PAPERS THAT WE ARE PLANNING TO

GIVE EGYPT DOLS. 250 MILLION, AND CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY GREECE HAS SUCH DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THE FEW MILITARY ITEMS IT NEEDS FOR ITS OWN DEFENSE. ON SOUDA BAY AIRFIELD, PANAYOTACOS SAID THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WAS WAITING FOR THE U.S. RESPONSE TO ITS MOST RECENT COUNTER PROPOSALS. "SOME PEOPLE MAY HAVE MISUNDERSTOOD THE MEANING OF THESE COUNTERPROPOSALS." THEY WERE NOT PRESENTED ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS, PANAYOTACOS SAID, BUT WERE MERELY SUGGESTIONS ON HOW THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE NEGOTIATED.

6. ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, PANAYOTACOS SAID THERE HAD BEEN A DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN NEW YORK. THE RESULTS WERE RATHER ENCOURAGING. THE WHOLE ISSUE ARISES BECAUSE OF TURKISH JEALOUSY OVER THE GREEK OIL FIND, PANAYOTACOS SAID, AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS NOW PUTTING FORTH ITS OWN INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM "CONTINENTAL SHELF" WHICH WOULD GIVE TURKEY CONTROL OVER THE WHOLE AEGEAN. GREECE IS A SIGNATORY TO THE GENEVA AGREEMENT OF 1958 AND ABIDES BY ITS DELINEATION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. MR. HARTMAN SAID HE HAD THE CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPRESSION FROM THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH GUNES IN NEW YORK THAT THE TURKS WANT TO DISCUSS THE CONTINENTAL SHELF ISSUE ON THE BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. (PANAYOTACOS PUT IN THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO DISCUSS.) WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE TENSIONS BUILD UP ON THIS ISSUE, MR. HARTMAN WENT ON, AND WE WOULD HOPE THESE MATTERS COULD BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED. PANAYOTACOS SAID, BUT WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM, THAT THERE MIGHT BE NO OBJECTION TOTALKS IF A BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS COULD BE AGREED UPON.

7. ON CYPRUS, PANAYOTACOS EXPOUNDED HIS THEME THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE INITIATED TO DRAW UP A NEW CONSTITUTION ON THE BASIS OF A SOVEREIGN,

UNITARY STATE, BUT THE TURKS ARE NOW LOOKING TOWARD SOME KIND OF FEDERATION. THE TALKS HAVE THEREFORE BEEN INTERRUPTED. GUYER HAS VISITED NICOSIA AND WE HOPE THE TALKS WILL RESUME SHORTLY. GREEK POLICY IS THAT THE TALKS SHOULD GO ON, AS THEY REPRESENT THE ONLY WAY TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

8. "WE DON'T WANT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN CYPRUS", (SIC), PANAYOTACOS SAID. THE TURKS HAVE WANTED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, BUT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT A

SOLUTION SHOULD NOT BE IMPOSED ON THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS. MR. HARTMAN SAID WE TOO SUPPORT THE TALKS. IN HIS RECOLLECTION THIS ISSUE WAS NOT DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND GUNES, BEYOND THE EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT THE TALKS WOULD CONTINUE.

9. PANAYOTACOS WAS PLEASED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF RODGER DAVIES, WHO IS VERY SURE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE. REFERRING TO HIS OWN TOUR AS AMBASSADOR TO CYPRUS, HE DESCRIBED HIS RELATIONS WITH MAKARIOS AS "VERY TENSE". EMBARKING AGAIN ON A FAVORITE THEME, HE DWELT ON MAKARIOS' COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS AND THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN CYPRUS. "WE DON'T WANT TO CREATE ANOTHER CUBA "

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10. REFERRING TO MID-EAST DEVELOPMENTS, MR. HARTMAN SAID WE HOPED THE SECRETARY COULD MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN DISENGAGING SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES DURING HIS UPCOMING TRIP. THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO PARTIES ARE STILL QUITE FAR APART. THE SOVIETS ARE UNHAPPY THAT THEY ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, BUT THERE IS NO SIGN THAT THE PARTIES WANT THEM IN. WE WOULD NOT WANT A SITUATION TO ARISE WHERE THE SOVIETS WERE EXCLUDED, BUT WERE HINDERING NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE OUTSIDE. THE SECRETARY WILL MEET GROMYKO IN GENEVA, TO GIVE THE SOVIETS A SENSE OF BEING INVOLVED. THE FIGHTING HAS NOT YET REACHED THE POINT OF SERIOUSLY INTERFERING WITH NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE HOPE IT WILL ABATE WHEN THE SECRETARY VISITS. WE ARE ALSO UNCERTAIN WHAT EFFECT THE ISRAELI POLITICAL SITUATION WILL HAVE ON THE TALKS. KISSINGER

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